li Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

553 [887]

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1926–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

88 [304] [648]

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cepinik*, the senior; *Taparit*[1] or *Kipalkonyek*, the middle; and *Ruwakenik* or *Kiptoonik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

56 [177] [181] [574]

Political Structure

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*korosiek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

621 36 [178]

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

614 [587] [179]

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taparit* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the turves."

1:Huntingford E-4, 5. (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF KIDOŊ (KERIITA)

History

101 The group described by Lambert as living at Keriita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoŋ in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was [439] established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu 648 came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1907 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

621 There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a 273 leading elder called *hiruukindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, 583 and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls 611 are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, 595 but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

881 There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the 561 prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-pilatail*, derived from the Masai *ol-pilata*, 614 " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-pelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

776 A so-called supreme being called *Turuni*[4] is recognized; and the statement 769 describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

113 SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 2.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 502
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 60
[4] = *Nandi turur*, " above."

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that bad silk (*sisik che gwek*, N.) have killed him; if he recovers, a good oloibor has saved him. No offerings are made to the bad silk.

There is also a vague belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go at death to the *koret ap oeik* (N.), or land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a bad place.

Magic.

There are magicians (*pendindet*, pl. *pendi*, N.) who are bad, and who prevent people from getting food by means of their spells. There are also diviners (*arkoiyot*, pl. *arkoiik*, N.).[1] There is no equivalent of the modern Nandi system of "arkoiyotet" or rule by a medicine-man.

Medicines and Charms.

(a) *Medicines.*—For snake-bite, the gum of the tinet tree is used, mixed with the honey of a species of bee, called "kosomyot" (N.), and ram's fat. This concoction is rubbed on the affected part, and a little is also eaten. For coughs, a plant called "epeito" is chewed; this is used for all chest complaints.

(b) *Charms.*—Children wear a charm to ward off the evil eye (*sukut*, N.), which is similar to that worn by Nandi children. It consists of a necklace of seeds of the kipuywet tree (N. *kipuswik*) strung on a cord, the seeds being separated by short pieces of bamboo (Text-fig. 20). Old men wear a charm to keep away rheumatism (*kimakwopet*, or *kerwiito* (*kerwito*), N.); it is made of two small pieces of the strophe tree,[2] about 1 in. long, which are tied to the belt (Text-fig. 19).

V.—Social Institutions.

Social Divisions.

The male sex is divided into boys (*kiptuk*, N.), warriors (*murenik*, N.), and old men (*petinik*, or *apatinik*, N.); the female sex, into girls (*kipsi*, N.) and women (*kerweik*, or *chepinek*, N.). At circumcision, a boy becomes a warrior and a girl a woman.

Married and unmarried people sleep separately. Married people and small children may sleep in the same hut, while unmarried men sleep elsewhere, often in the *sigirionet* (N.), or "warriors' hut," where they cohabit with the unmarried girls. Though free-love is practised, it is not carried to such an extent as among the Nandi, and although girls sleep with warriors, they like to preserve their virginity till circumcision. Warriors frequently marry their sweethearts (*murenik*; N. *murenit*), whereas in Nandi they usually marry someone else.

The position of women is the same as it is among the Nandi, that is, they wait on the men, do all the menial work, and are their husband's property.

[1] This word is not used with the same sense in Nandi; originally it seems to have meant simply "medicine-man" (Hewitt, *supra*).

[2] *Euphorbia candelabrum.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes *Arap* (*ararap*), "Son of (the-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipsoi, whose father's name is Kimisilig, becomes Kipsoi arap (Ki)misilig, and is known as *Arap* (Ki)misilig. Both the masculine and feminine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tom,[a] K.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about two years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorobo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *simbwindi*) made of the skin of the black monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorobo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorobo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimerokat*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorobo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," K. ("Thanks").

The Dorobo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*simotit*, K.).

Salutations:—

(a) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopoi*"; answer, "*Chow-lo*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tilkwonga*"; answer, "*Iyé*."

(b) Of farewell:—"*Saisoro*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisoro ak ropo*" (good-bye to them), or, "*Saisoro ak akwol*" (good-bye to you).

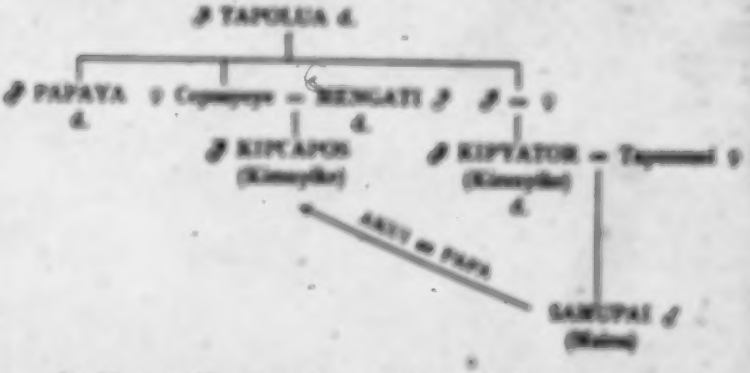
Except "*Chow-lo*" as the answer to "*Sopoi*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit names" (*koitoi ap aith*), which, however, are seldom used.

4dHuntingford E-S (1938-1939) 193 FLA Dorobo FLA

be requested and found both his father's brother and his mother's brother. When the time came for him to be circumcised, he went first to his *papa* to ask permission, and then to his *mama*; both consented, and both called him [illegible]. If his *papa* got angry with him, he gave him a goat, a new honey-barrel, or some beer; and he treated his *mama* in the same way. Such cases are perhaps not normal, and the respect shown to the *mama* is due to individual circumstances, for Arap Mining was taught by his mother to like his *mama*, and unlike most Dorobo he saw a good deal of the man.

Where a man has no father's brother to whom he can turn, other people can act as substitutes, as in the case of a man named Samupai arap Yator, whose father was dead, and had no brothers or sisters:



In this case, Kipcapos, the son of Samupai's father's father's sister was alive, and of the same age-set as his father Kipyator. Though terminologically merely *ahai*, Samupai regarded Kipcapos as a father's brother, visited the old man whenever he went near where he lived, and treated him exactly as if he was really *papa*. In another case, a father's father's brother's son, also *ahai*, took the place of a non-existent father's brother.

The people who are of primary importance in the life of a child are therefore his parents, his father's parents (especially the mother), and his father's brother. The father's sister while still young and unmarried may live with her parents and thus for a time come in contact with the child. She will thus be able to help the mother for so long as she remains unmarried. But once she has got a husband she is likely to live elsewhere and may pass right out of the child's life, since there may be no man in the settlement who is not either related to her, or of the same clan. In the settlement at Kipsabus where Arap Mining lived, there were five other men, Cemngili a married man with two children, and his unmarried brothers Maldekwo, Kipsang, and Kipsengeli, together with Arap Mining's unmarried brother Kimoitai

[1] A boy must get permission to be circumcised from his father's brother, who sits his head and then in token of consent

4:Huntingford E-S (1918-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

arap Rain. There were also two old women, Cosbirikat mother of Arap Kising, and Cepkatet mother of Comondil. With these lived Comondil's young sister Cepkoiet, aged about 13, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cosbirikat, eating with her mother or with Comondil and his wife. The three men Maloiuro, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipsigei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiet could marry none of these young men, since they were all her classmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Soweiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (akiroiuet) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *famus*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndaretun she stayed with women there who, when they came to Soweiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *nisit*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-classmates. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

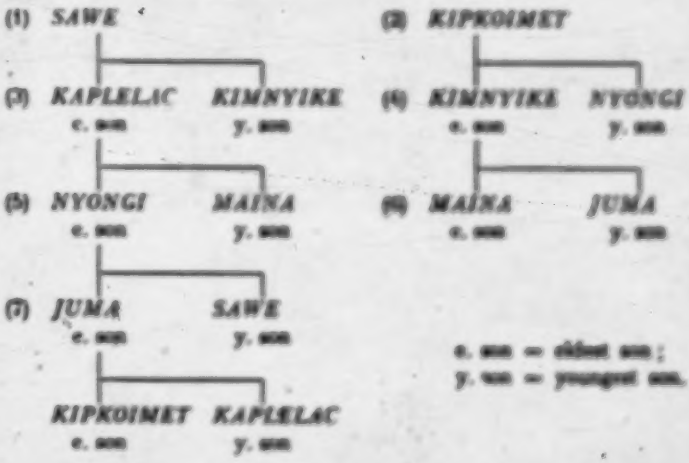
Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of *ourkuleuo*, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Dorobo have borrowed this system from the Nandi, and have taken over both the Nandi names for the sets and the interval between them, which is fifteen years. There are seven sets which work in a recurring cycle of about 105 years, the names being permanent. Starting with the senior age-set, the order of names in 1939 was: *Kipkoimet, Kaplelac, Kimnyike, Nyongi, Maina, Juma, Sawe.*

The general rule is that a man belongs from birth to the set next but one below that of his father, so that the son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*. This applies normally to elder sons. If a man has several sons, or if there is a long interval between the birth of the oldest and the birth of the youngest, the latter normally belongs to the set next but two below that of the father, so that while the eldest son of a *Sawe* will be *Kaplelac*, the youngest will probably be *Kimnyike*, and thus of a set junior to that of his eldest brother. This is an important point, as it affects the whole system of behaviour. The following diagram illustrates descent by age-sets:



Age-sets work in the following way: the men who comprise the present *Maina* set began their circumcision period in 1923, and were circumcised at intervals during the next seven years, after which, in 1930, they became the active and responsible members of Dorobo society, and their predecessors the *Nyongi* retired from public life. At this time, in 1930, the next batch of youths, the *Juma*, moved up into the position occupied by the *Maina* from 1923 to 1930 in order to be circumcised, becoming initiates whilst the *Maina* became officially 'men'. So every fifteen years or so the whole machine moves like a ratchet wheel turning one cog, and every set goes through the following periods:

4:Huntingford E-3 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

are *kamuke* to each other and equals, being of the same generation. So too are the sons of the father's brother, also *Kapisisi* and *Kimanyiki*, who are *mumbor* to Ego. But Ego will be circumcised at the same time as his brother A and his *mumbor* C, whom his other brother B and *mumbor* D are too young to be circumcised; B and D will therefore belong to junior age-sets, and when Ego, A, and C have been circumcised and are allowed to marry and indulge in other male pursuits, B and D will still have the inferior status of *nabit* or boys and be subordinate to their brothers as regards behaviour and social position.

Each generation is therefore liable to be stratified in two layers comprising two age-sets which cut across the relationship system; and where the kinship behaviour patterns conflict with those of the age-set, the latter will prevail. Both sets in Ego's generation, for instance, will behave in the same way to father, father's brother, and father's father; but D and B cannot behave to Ego as C behaves to Ego, because they are merely boys who do not count for much, while Ego and C are men. Similarly, in the first descending generation all will behave in the same way to Ego's generation, but K and G must give to H, E, and F the respect that H, O, and F do not give to each other or to K and G. And the principle is the same with the second descending generation.

First ascending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Own generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
First descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole
Second descending generation	JUNIORS	SENIORS	Generation as a whole

The effect of the age-set on behaviour is to strengthen the traditional code of behaviour by emphasizing the disparity between seniors and juniors.

Age-sets also affect hospitality, for while no Dorobo would normally refuse to shelter one of his own kinds, the degree of hospitality and of the intimacy to which he is admitted vary according to whether the visitor is an age-mate or not. If he is of the same age-set as his host (no matter what their respective sentiments may be), he will sleep along with the host and his wife, though he will not be given the host's wife to sleep with as among the Nandi. But if he belongs to a different age-set, the wife will

4:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

the other hand, there should be no *weviat*, just greeting and a minimum of conversation, as between strangers. The children of his wife's brother and sister are treated as his own. A woman regards her husband's brother and sister and their spouses much as he regards her brother and sister.

When the father's mother does not live with her son, she may perhaps be in the next settlement. She will then visit her grandchildren, and they will go to see her. This interchange of visits teaches children a good deal about the treatment of important people like grandmother. Interchange of visits with the mother's mother also takes place, especially when the man is getting older. Thus, Cesikirikat the mother of Arap Mining used to visit her daughter Cesungany who was married to a *Nyongi* called Ngueses and had three sons. She would stay a few days with her daughter (during which time Ngueses would live in another hut) and then go home. Presently Cesungany would bring her children to see Cesikirikat, and while the children were all still young (before they had reached puberty) they slept together in Cesikirikat's hut. After reaching puberty they slept in the *sikireinat* with Arap Ruto. Girls visiting their father's mother sleep in her hut whatever their age.

Children are generally fond of their father's mother, partly because she makes it her business to be nice to them, "for they are the children of her child, and people do not hate their grandchildren". But if they do not visit her as often as she would like and bring her presents of food, she will be annoyed and shows her anger by saying, *Sere epaku lakwa ee mooipua emitwakik* ("Peace, die you children who have not brought me food"), a curse which is not dangerous because it is neutralised by the word 'peace', and because she takes care to say it in the hearing of someone who will report it to the children, when some such conversation as this will take place:

Friend:	*Kaami kapkoko amui, konyekat, awa maaipeia emitwakik arumk ee cee, kwapak, kole, "Sere, epekua lakwa".*	I was at Grandmother's place yesterday, and she is angry because you have not brought her food for many months, and she cursed you and said, "Peace, die, you children".
Children:	*Woi, awendi ewe, aiyo! Kokwapei koko, kole, "Sere, epekua".*	Alas! where shall I go, mother? Grandmother has cursed us and said, "Peace, die!"
Mother:	*Mooneen, lakwa, mawoak koko, kwamak, a matai kipendi aliunyin si kiipeia nalekio.*	Do not be afraid, children, grandmother does not hate you, she loves you; but to-morrow we will go to her place to take her a present.
Friend:	*Weiio, miye nato, si kwam koko.*	Yes, that's the best thing to do, so as to please grandmother.
Children:	*Weiio, kejo kwan, . . . Keipeia ee, si kwam?*	Yes, let's go to-morrow, . . . What shall we take her, so that she shall be pleased?
Mother:	*Kipendi kwan, si kiipeia nyamyait ak kakmak.*	We'll go in the morning, and take her some meat and some honey and water.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

though in Nandi such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogies, which show as well that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries two wives may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry women of the same clan.

V. Marriage

1. Circumcision

Circumcision is a preliminary to marriage; but since the whole process is almost identical with that of the Nandi, it is not necessary to describe it, and the reader may be referred to HOLLIS's description for the details [14]. It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Nandi along with the age-set system with which it is closely connected. The fact that the Nandi sometimes use a Dorobo to perform the operation on their boys, and that the Masae in the past normally did so might suggest that the Dorobo practised it before they came in contact with the Masae or Nandi. But in view of the close resemblance of the Dorobo to the Nandi procedure, and the use of Nandi terms, there seems to be nothing particularly significant in the employment of Dorobo as operators; and since the operation of clitoridectomy which is performed on the girls is undoubtedly of Hamitic origin, we may be justified in assuming that the Dorobo have borrowed the whole business from the Nandi [15].

Dorobo boys are often circumcised in Nandi along with Nandi boys by an operator who may be either Nandi or Dorobo. Arap Mining was circumcised at Cepkunyuk together with another Dorobo named Arap Eirusi and eight Nandi, the operator being a Dorobo. The periods of circumcision correspond with those of the Nandi, for the Dorobo have not worked out a method of time-reckoning of their own, but contented themselves with watching the doings of the Nandi. When they saw that they were preparing for circumcision, they collected their boys between the ages, roughly, of 15 to 18 years, and made the necessary arrangements. Although boys are sometimes circumcised in the Nandi country, the Dorobo prefer to do it on their own, and the circumcision of 1928-1930 was done in the forest. No Nandi initiates take part in a forest circumcision, but Nandi assemble as spectators, both to see the fun and to get some free honey, a good deal of which has been collected beforehand in readiness for the circumcision. As well as collecting honey, the initiates' parents do a round of visits to both Dorobo and Nandi friends in order to beg or buy food for their sons to live on after the operation.

In both sexes the effect of the circumcision (*tum*) is that it makes

[14] See his book „The Nandi, their language and folk lore", pp. 32-60.

[15] This use of outsiders to circumcise is perhaps analogous to the employment by the Somali of Yibir women to perform clitoridectomy on their girls, the Yibir being one of the non-Somali outcast groups.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

881 them complete adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was uncircumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

836 [885] Having attained manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to the restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into legitimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never [589] marry at all because of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not consort unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found 589 out. This state of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, helped in their household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the application of a special term, for which I suggest the word monôsis. And it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the condition of monôsis as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

836 Young Dorobo to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women with whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wives of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a [837] woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and say nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, when there are girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called *sikiroinet* close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital [864] lover. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

582 Dorobo generally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

584 A man chooses his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary arrangements. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (*wendi hoito*), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A comet is a sign of coming famine, not merely for the person who sees it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general trend of knowledge of the Dorobo that the important parts of their life are helped and controlled by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with those powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (even if it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and avoidances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

b) Analysis of Beliefs

Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three categories: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status:

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk to the Nandi; and in addition to the taboo on eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the provision of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is burned. The last notion means that unlike the pastoral tribes, the Dorobo do not burn grass near forest.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that their use is directed to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include goats and sheep, and certain of their products, i. e. *siyat*, and fat, as well as 'butter' or *muail ap tangina* from cows. All these come from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dorobo, and even to-day only on a small scale. Honey-wine is used a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each period of life has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumcision, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults is altered under certain conditions: (1) a man setting out to hunt is not in the same ritual state as when he is staying quietly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time, i. e. just before he starts or, should he have an opportunity, while away; (2) a person sick of an illness has a status different from that of other people; (3) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (4) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (5) women suffer deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and even, to a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.

/68 cont'd/ 611 591 595 613 769 [775]

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 ● 561 [177]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [881]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

/243 cont./
551 named after the oldest living child. Among the Asá one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

/244/ VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

• 881 171 561 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (bogodendet, bogododig) form an age class (ebindadet), which borrows its name from that of 56| the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys 17| are called barnotig (sing. barnotendet), corresponding to the el barnot of the Masai. When the latter become el móran, the former correspondingly become dobonog (sing. dobonatog), and later, with their marriage, daĕma (sing. daĕmog), corresponding to the el moruak of [291] the Masai. The bogododig dress exactly like the es sibolio, and, like [223] them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ol boror) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asá adopts it also. They [178] cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their [791] own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the ol oiboni,[1] whom the Asá also call ndĕarug, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The ebindadet also choose their head -- the ol aunoni of the Masai -- who here is called njĭg or kisiridjo or also aunoni. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges [692] either. Here the kirua kidet, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the ol aigwenani of the Masai. The kirigit corresponds [224] to the ol oiñoni of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially [555] on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

1, [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Asa--Analyst]

561 /244 cont./
171 elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through
224 courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again
555 and again is elected kirigit.

• 881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these
[425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/ VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Meat meals of the hunters in the bush.

411 For the dobonog of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the
[561] El móran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow.
[224] The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, geleweg) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] madiet, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya).
[439] The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more